1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

and the boys go there to learn their prayers and the beginning of Islamic theology. In some cases, especially with girls, the instruction is taken in the household itself. During adolescence this training may become more serious, and boys who were not sent to live with their religious teachers before may go off to learn Islamic practices in greater detail. The relationship of a boy to his *mallam* or religious teacher is expressed in the saying, "Your mallam exceeds your father." In other words, a boy's religious instructor exceeds his father in fatherly qualities and he must be respected and obeyed as a superior whose authority is unquestioned.

Whether a child goes to live with his religious teacher or not, there are other important factors that maintain for him a high turn-over among household members that is in striking contrast to the norms of western society. No matter where he lives in Bornu there is a high divorce rate and the possibility that his mother and father will not live together all their lives is very great indeed. Children stay under the control of their father in his household, although some contact with the mother is maintained and remains a strong emotional bond for many, even though there is a constant possibility that it cannot remain a household relationship. High divorce also means that the mother's co-wives are continually changing and that one's own half-siblings may be without their own mother in the compound so that compound relationships themselves are continually shifting and changing throughout a person's childhood.

The Kanuri also practice fostering. In some cases children are given to grandparents, or friends, or other relatives to be raised. Sometimes the reasons are political, and the parents try to place the child in a very important person's household so that the child may grow up knowing and associating with people who can help him later on in life. Sometimes it is felt to be a kindness towards a friend or to the child's grandparents. Whatever the reason, the child lives during his early years in a compound other than that of his own parents. It is possible to find Kanuri who have lived in as many as four or five compounds by the time they reach adolescence, and two or three is quite common. On the other hand, there are also many people—especially in rural areas where their work is needed—who were raised in only one household. One informant reported how he was given to a father's younger brother at weaning, given to a religious teacher at six, returned to his father at the age of eight, then put into the household of the district head when he was thirteen. Although there is much variation in this practice, in conjunction with the high divorce rate as well as the always present possibility of sudden death by disease, it means again that the actual people in the younger person's relational network are many, many, times more fluid and changing than is the case in western society.

Summing up this very important point, we may say that it is a rare Kanuri who has passed through childhood with a stable set of interpersonal relations to siblings or adult members of his household. This means that in child training the relationships to specific persons are not stressed as much as the norms of behavior we spoke of in Chapter 3. The one important exception to this is the relationship to one's mother which is particularly strong between a mother and her son. This fits nicely into the life cycle of women who, as we shall see, usually return to their son later in their old age to take up the role of old, unmarried women. In stressing the norms of behavior rather than particular relationships, it is respect and obedience

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

to seniors, first in the household then in the society at large, that is the most important social learning of childhood. Kanuri society is hierarchical. Whether the person is in one compound or another, one social situation or another, there is always one common feature—rank and its determinants, power and authority. By living in several compounds, by seeing authority at work in the community, and by learning to generalize his response to authority, the young child learns to respond easily and gracefully to many combinations of rank and position. His counterpart in western society may be learning how to cope with the intricacies of modern urban technology, but he would certainly be no match for his Kanuri counterpart in the diplomacy necessary in dealing with superiors.

Puberty

Puberty is not an age-grade in the same sense as childhood or adolescence. Yet it deserves some special attention because it is a marker that separates these two life periods and creates a means for very important transitions especially for young girls. Sometime between the age of twelve and fourteen most girls undergo their first marriage. Boys on the other hand begin their adolescence. This is a more carefree time for them than the period of intense training for adulthood that a girl is suddenly confronted with as she moves from childhood into her teenage period and marriage.

However there are no absolutely sharp breaks even for a girl. A newly married young girl is not considered totally grown-up and sometimes she continues to wear her hair in the childhood style. If she divorces during this early period, usually the first three or four years after her first marriage, people often speak of her as *njim suri* or one who is only beginning to become a woman but who has not completed the change-over to full adultlhood.[1] At first the young wife still sees many unmarried childhood friends who will soon be getting married themselves. They visit her when she is confined to the house for varying periods depending upon how secluded her husband wishes his wife to be. Only gradually over the period of the first year or so of marriage does the young girl begin to participate fully as a wife. From the first she cooks food regularly because it is her duty and her right, and as time goes on she is seen more and more in the company of the older, adult women of the compound and the neighborhood. If she is not in total seclusion, like most rural wives, then she can be seen going with the women to the well or the market, and to women's festivities in the village.

Although rare it sometimes happens that a girl misses the opportunity to marry while still in her early teens. Leaving aside the very few girls who go on in school, such cases are rather tragic. The girl is either mentally deficient or a disturbed person, or one who people say has been having love affairs before marriage. In such cases she changes her hair style in her middle to late teens and takes on the role of a single divorced woman seeking a new husband and therefore open to courtship and sexual liaisons with men.

In Magumeri one young girl about fifteen or sixteen who was well de-

[1] Literally *njim suri* means to have seen inside the hut, that is she has been alone with her husband but only seen or glimpsed at the activities of adulthood not really practiced them in full.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

883 868 571 159 305 592 [304] barber and still carries out special chores for his former master. He also claims that he gives the senior barber about fifty percent of all his present receipts. As yet he does not know how to cut face marks, remove the uvula, or perform circumcisions, and so he attends all of these ceremonies with the master barber so that he may continue his education. He hopes that by the next year he will be allowed to perform some of these more advanced operations under supervision. When he has completely finished his education, it will not be necessary to do any chores for the senior or give him any commission. Nevertheless the former apprentice should always pay his respects to his ex-master and give him gifts from time to time.

883 868 571 592 834 Other apprentices living with strangers claimed they felt more freedom in the household of the stranger and thus live away from home for their training even though they practice the same craft as their father. Many said that they would return home eventually but for the present it was pleasant to travel around seeing other parts of Bornu. This freedom refers more specifically to their sexual activity or at least to its discussion since the discipline and respect given to the compound head is the same as elsewhere. However many boys discussed sex in front of the compound head while such behavior would be impossible in their natal family households. Some boys reported that their father was dead and they had been sent off by their families to the household of relatives or friends in order to learn an occupation.

882 867 105 In summary, adolsecence sharply divides men and women. A young girl takes on her role as a married woman and it is within marriage that she completes her education for adulthood in Kanuri society. A woman may divorce later on as indeed most do, then remarry and bear children throughout. However the framework of adult life is entered into at a first marriage sometime around puberty. For the boy, on the other hand, adolescence is a socially recognized state in life entered at circumcision. This stage of life is used to complete the young man's education and equip him with the interpersonal and occupational skills that are required as an adult and a potential family head.

Maturity

885 192 The mature man is described by the Kanuri as *rashidi*. Ideally this implies that he is married, has a compound of his own and an occupation, the use of some land for farming, and a recognized position in the community as the head of a compound. It also means that he has a certain degree of independence so that if he wished he could move of his own accord to another community. To be a mature man par excellence, he should also have children and the reputation of a person who does things discreetly and diplomatically. Maturity is not simply a term applied to a period of life. It is also a value judgement describing a proper and desirable behavior of an adult man. It is not just a role but an evaluation of that role.

885 Most people seemed unable or unwilling to answer the question of age in relation to maturity, and so they fell back on marriage claiming that any married

885 196 man was in fact a mature adult. However a few, notably high ranking people, did give an age and suggested that a person could not be thought of as being fully mature until he was at least thirty-five, very often forty. After this age he is not sup-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

must ask his permission to do anything. To be seen speaking to another man is grounds for divorce. On the other hand a divorced woman is free. She comes and goes as she pleases and speaks to whoever she pleases quite freely. Some women quite frankly remark that they prefer this status to that of marriage while others just as strongly remark that they would like to get a husband.

In summary, maturity is a time of achievement for men in which they become full-fledged members of their community. They marry, try to raise families, and become heads of successful and productive households. Women try to marry successfully and hopefully to have children. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, tensions caused by the demands of subordination in their married role produce strains and rebelliousness that very often leads to the break-up of marriage.[3] In the final analysis the culture is androcentric; there are many means by which men can become successful—through their occupation, their associations with neigh[illegible]latives, friends, and important men, and through membership and finally [illegible]ip of a household. In spite of a turnover in wives associated with the high amount of divorce, the household itself is a stable unit, although its personnel is not. On the other hand, it is the rare Kanuri woman who can achieve a successful adulthood. Many women are barren or have had children who have not survived. Very few women remain married to the same men all their lives and most have had one or more extended periods of being divorced and looking for a husband. By centering on men and emphasizing their needs and wishes, Kanuri culture has produced a strain on women that is a fertile field for changes when modernization produces the possibility of new goals for women and new means for achieving them.

Old Age

Old age is signalled in both sexes by the whitening of body hair even though other body characteristics may remain strong and healthy. For both old men and women this last period in life means that many of the obligations and responsibilities of adult life are slowly relinquished, although men generally feel that they belong to the adult roles much longer than women. As heads of households and office holders in governmental positions, men wield powers in a number of spheres and give these up slowly and reluctantly as old age drains away their energy and efficiency. Ideally in Kanuri culture a man should reach the golden years of his life in his old age. If all goes well he receives much respect; his work is carried on by descendants, and his position as a household head may have grown to the point where he is the senior authority among a group of households organized along the lines of a patrilocal extended family with clients, sons, brothers, and their wives and families looking to him for leadership. When he is very old and becoming progressively infirm, he lets many of these duties pass to mature members of the group. Even then they always consult him on decisions and pay heed to his wishes.

The reality in Kanuri society is often far from the ideal although the ideal is a very widely agreed upon goal. To obtain this most desirable position in old age a

[3] See Ronald Cohen, "Marriage instability among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 63, 1231–1249.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

in Magumeri died in the morning and was buried in the afternoon. The people explained this by saying that it was the hot season and he had died early in the morning. To wait until the next morning, they said, was too long and not good for the community. This was an oblique way of referring to the belief that the ghost of a dead man is dangerous especially to children until he is buried.

The ceremony itself is quite simple. The body is washed, wrapped in a white cloth and placed on a bier, and then taken out to the burial grounds by the men. Prayers are said continually and the family mourns officially for forty days by saying special prayers and remaining close to home. During the ceremony men remain impassive, quietly telling their beads and praying softly to themselves. Women, on the other hand, come in groups walking slowly in single file wailing and crying, especially if the deceased is a close neighbor, friend, or relative. If a man is needed for a short communication, a woman might stop wailing suddenly, talk in an ordinary voice, then just as quickly resume her keening. A few women at every funeral were observed who were much more totally involved and did not break up their wailing when asked to do something else. Sometimes these wails of the women become songs with words. This is less true at funerals of men where if it happens the song or chant says over and over again, "He was a good man." For a dead woman the words are also, "She was a good woman," but an added verse, especially if the dead woman was not very old, refers to the hard life of a woman and how long and unending are her chores. There is a definite implication here that the heavy burdens of womanhood can bring an early death.

This, then is the Kanuri life cycle; it is adapted to Bornu society and the historical development of that society. The fact that the household is the major unit of social organization means that people of different ages are constantly in touch with one another. Even though those in all age groups have many friends of their own age, they associate freely and easily with people of all age groups within their household where membership crosses generation lines. This means that younger age groupings are constantly learning the ways of behaving and thinking of those older than themselves and almost automatically know how to act as they grow up. By contrast in many western societies interaction between generations is extremely difficult, and each generation seems to be developing an almost semi-separate culture whose intricacies must be learned after one has joined that particular age group. Because western schooling has not yet separated an entire generation from their parents, there is little room among the Kanuri for many discontinuities in learning, and therefore in hopes, fears, and aspirations on the part of each successive generation. Obviously this has produced and helps to maintain much of the stability in Kanuri society, and as such it is a key factor when we wish to ask questions about conditions of change in the entire society of Bornu.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even international competition. Let us go over these points one by one.

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craftworker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one section of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

665 208 [186] social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as it is now known could be destroyed if opposition parties ever came to power. Finally, it is always pointed out that opposition parties represent the Southern Nigerians and that a vote for such a group is a vote against Islam, the true religion, and a vote for paganism covered by a thin cloak of Christianity.

665 175 578 648 [353] [579] During the 1950s when there was an active local opposition party in Bornu under a Kanuri leader, attitudes to the opposition were more clearly seen. The British colonial officials dealt mostly with senior Kanuri members of the Native Authority. Both the British and these Kanuri leaders had an abhorrence of disorder, riots, or activities that could lead to such disturbances. It was thought that allowing Southern Nigerians to organize branches of their own party locally was one thing but having a Kanuri opposition party was quite another. Events proved them correct, for in 1958 riots broke out in Maiduguri between supporters of the N.P.C. and the Bornu Youth League. The ins and outs of these riots need not concern us here, but from that time on the B.Y.L. was crushed. Many of its local leaders fled [167] to other parts of Nigeria or to neighboring Chad to reappear several years later and eventually to become loyal N.P.C. supporters. Today although other Nigerian parties are represented in Bornu, their supporters and local organizers are all non-Kanuri. Thus the emirate government is linked to Nigerian party politics through a one-party organization which represents the traditional authority system of the emirate.

665 648 The party and its place as a dominant element in Nigerian politics means that Kanuri leaders have open to them regional and federal appointments. There are Kanuri in the federal cabinet and in the various federal ministries. Up until January 1966, the political head of the N.P.C. and the Premier of the northern region was the Sarduana of Sokoto, and the Governor was Sir Kashim Ibrahim, the former Waziri of Bornu.[1] The old nineteenth century balance of power in this region between the empires of Bornu and Sokoto still remain, then, and both must be represented in the leading positions of this, the largest region of Nigeria.

642 105 178 In summary, Kanuri political organization is basically structured along the lines set up by the colonial era which were built onto those of pre-colonial times. As the emirate has developed a need for more modern political structures these have appeared and are continuing to appear as the society changes towards more modernization and the accumulation of social and economic development. Within this structure modes of behavior are still largely traditional as are the values and political ideology that give the present system its immediate and long range goals. Whether or not modernism and its values will eventually produce a clash with tradition or whether the change will continue to be as smooth and incremental as it has in the past is one of the key questions for the future.

[1] As this is being written the politics of Nigeria, and in all probability its constitutional make-up, are being changed by the effects of the military take-over of the federal government which occurred in January, 1966.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

7

Conclusion

THIS THEN, is the Kanuri society of Bornu as I have come to know it over a period of years. I have left many things out or merely skimmed over them in order to make a major point. There is a rich ceremonial life related to the annual cycle of Islamic festivals; there are beliefs about the nature of the world, how it is constructed and what causes things to happen in it. There is a complicated set of concepts about social rank and class which I have not gone into; and there are, I believe, distinct features of personality that give to Kanuri individuals a set of attitudes that are adapted to their own way of life. Some of these I know about, others, like their personality, I only suspect but cannot as yet prove because of inadequate information. However the features that have been described were those designed to answer the question quoted at the beginning of this book. In the first Chapter I asked, "What are the set of organized activities by which the Kanuri of Bornu have adapted to their environment and created means for the maintenance, continuity, and evolution of their society?" My answer to this question has been to show how a number of different sectors of Kanuri social life are interrelated and built up from the basic unit of society, namely the household organization and the modes of behavior utilized in the household or compound in its everyday activities.

Taking this approach I have been reflecting the opinions and beliefs of my Kanuri informants. In other words, my basic theory about Kanuri society and how it operates is really not my own but that used by the Kanuri themselves when they try to explain their own society in general terms. In trying to instruct me about their culture and how it works, they continually harken back to the household. The household is the basic political unit in Bornu; groups of households link up to form wards, hamlets, villages, and districts. To found a new settlement one or more linked households move out and begin to operate as a semi-independent community. The everyday business of getting a living is organized within a household, and a series of households linked through their household heads can form larger economic organizations for productive or trading purposes. Family life, the crucible of human society, is of course centered within the household. Finally the modes of behavior that one requires in order to adapt to everyday social relationships in the society are learned within the household.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

What about larger organizations like the emirate political hierarchy and the trading organizations based on stores or canteens, that is to say, modern business enterprises? These obviously contain people who are not members of the same household. Certainly this is true, but often, as in the trading organizations, junior clerks in the store did at one time live in the household of the store owner or still do live there. Much more important, the Kanuri claim, is the fact that the proper way to behave in a political or economic hierarchy is the way one behaves in a household organization or a set of linked households. The junior in the organization gives *bərzum* (or discipline-respect) to his superior and in return he receives the benefits of membership, that is to say, he receives a social and political status, protection, and economic gain, for the loyalty and obedience which he delivers to his superior. This to the Kanuri is the most important single behavior in social life. It is learned in the household and then used to link households and individuals together in all of the organizations that are important in the society as a whole. The inference here is that the society is basically and essentially hierarchical—one in which most relationships are of a superior-subordinate variety—and indeed this is true except for friendship groups that do not, however, carry on many of the fundamental activities in Bornu.

It is because this underlying unity is still so firm and central a feature of Kanuri social life that I have not stressed the fact that my trips to Bornu straddle the historic fact of Nigerian independence. Political independence has brought no change in the way in which the bulk of the Kanuri organize their social life and live out the contents of their daily lives in their households, their villages, and their emirate. These modes of behaving have ancient roots in the area, and independence has not witnessed any widespread attempts to change things or to create new modes of organizing the social life of the emirate. Top administrators are now Nigerians, not British colonial officials, but what and how they administer in Bornu is roughly the same as it was in the pre-independence era of the 1950s. When I spoke to some of the leaders of the emirate in 1965 about their understanding of changes that might occur in the political system or the way in which the emirate was organized, they commented that the system was efficient and could serve as a stable, trustworthy form of local political organization through which any changes might come and still keep Bornu as a viable entity for a long time in Nigeria's future.

What is different today, and different only in degree, is the commitment to modernization on the part of top leadership and the initiative they are willing to show in this regard. The leaders are committed whole-heartedly to expanding western education, obtaining better health services, and decreasing disease. They also hope to increase productivity in agriculture and introduce the beginnings of industrialization into Bornu. Steps are being taken in all directions, and only the future can tell what of the past will actually enter into a future that at least on the surface seems in its ultimate goal to be so different from the majestic past and the present of the Kanuri of Bornu.

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

[Introductory, p.iv]

ABSTRACT

Social Structure and Acculturation among the Kanuri of Northern Nigeria

by Abraham Rosman

• 105 The Kanuri people are the dominant element of the population of Borno Province, in northeastern Nigeria, bordering on Lake Chad. At one time the Kanuri had a powerful state, known as the Empire of Borno. At the time that the field research for the present study was carried out (1956-1957), they were under British colonial rule. Since the beginning of this century Kanuri culture has been changing as a result of contact with the industrial West. The present study focuses on these changes, as they have been channeled through Kanuri social structure.

128 Chapter I provides the ethnographic and historical background for the material which follows. Chapter II describes the general features of Kanuri culture. Chapter III describes the community of Geidam in which the study was carried out. These chapters present the bread outlines of Kanuri culture and the social structure of an urban community, in order to provide a framework for the data on acculturation.

Chapter IV presents the theoretical orientation of the acculturation study, describes the sample of informants, and presents the measures of acculturation which were used. Three hypotheses concerning the relationship between social structure and acculturation are proposed.

The data on acculturation are derived from a questionnaire-interview which was given to forty-four informants, who are representative of eight distinct social categories in the Geidam community. Chapter V presents the analysis of these data. The final chapter, Chapter VI, discusses the data in the light of the hypotheses advanced earlier, and examines some of the theoretical implications of the findings.

Forty-seven tables and four figures are presented in the text, and a glossary of Kanuri words is provided.

177 as localized sub-cultures of the Kanuri, of which there are
563 many. However, they are Kanuri culturally and recognize themselves as such.

D. The Over-all Forces Affecting Kanuri Culture.

161 The Kanuri number over a million. Three-quarters of a million Kanuri live in Nigeria. The Republic of the Niger is largely Kanuri in population in its southwestern sections.

178 The culture of a people never remains static; it is con-
• 105 stantly changing in response to forces, both external and in-
177 ternal. Among the forces instrumental in bringing about changes in Kanuri culture one could cite the introduction of Islam and the concomitant changes occurring in its reinterpretation by the Kanuri; the economic ties with north Africa; the influences of the indigenous population of the Bornu plains as the Kanuri peoples moved into the area; the adaptations demanded by an expanding political system; and finally, the changes resulting from a decline of empire and ultimate conquest. Significant changes are occurring in Kanuri culture today, brought about by contact with Western civilization. The effects of European influence are strongly felt in many areas of life.

1. The Political Situation.

648 At the time that this study was carried out (1956-1957)
Dol Nigeria was a British colony, under the political control of the British colonial office. The political situation has changed

[GEIDAM]

121 tures" which have served as models for the anthropologist. The
184 Kanuri have had a powerful conquest state, a market economy,
• [109] and a stratified society. These larger sociological characteristics have brought about sub-cultural differences, which have both vertical and horizontal manifestations. The vertical segments of Kanuri culture are found in regional variations: Kanuri sub-groups like the Manga, Mobber and Buduwai. Horizontal
[369] segments inhere in the rigid class system. The distinction between rural and urban manifestations of Kanuri culture are both vertical and horizontal in nature: vertical in that towns and villages represent geographically distinct units, horizantal in that towns and cities are a reflection of political and economic complexity, and townsmen share in a common sub-culture wherever they are located.

121 Given the complexity of Kanuri culture noted above, it is imperative that the observer describe a particular community rather than Kanuri culture as a whole. It is necessary, first of all, to discuss the particular nature of the community which he studied, to define it within the various dimensions which have been set forth as guide lines for Kanuri culture generally. The problem which has provided the orientation for the present study will be presented within the cultural context of a single community. While the writer feels that the approach suggested here is valid for culture contact situations generally, he realizes that the initial level of generalization requires him to move from a discussion of a particular community, with its own

Identification

The Kanuri (Beriberi, Kanoury), the dominant tribe of Bornu, belong to the Central Saharan linguistic stock. Schultze gives the principal Kanuric tribes as the Kanembu, Kanuri, Kagama, Koyam, Magumi (included among the Kanuri as the original Kanuri tribe), Manga, and Ngussan. Lavergne de Tressan gives them (with 1950 populations) as the Dogara (20, 000 in cercle of Goure, region of Koutous), Beriberi (60, 000 in cercle of Zinder, many no longer speaking Kanuri but Hausa), Kanembu (including Kuburi and Tsugurti, with 5, 700 in A. O. F., many more in A. E. F.), Kanuri, Manga (40, 000), and Mober (17, 000). He gives the total population in French Niger in 1950 as 142, 000, plus 931, 000 in Nigeria in 1931. The total population of Bornu in 1911 was about 760, 000 on 150, 000 square miles. Urvoy (1942) reports 650, 000 Kanuri in Nigeria, of whom 350, 000 were in Bornu. Westermann (1952) gives the population of Kanem as 70, 000. A 1955 press dispatch gives the population of the Kanuri in Bornu as 1, 250, 000. The Kanuri are almost exclusively Moslems. The Sef dynasty, which lasted over a thousand years until 1846, was founded in the 8th century with its center in Kanem. Islam was introduced in the latter part of the 11th century. Kanem reached its apogee under Dunama Dibalami (1221-59), when his empire extended N to Fezzan, E to Wadai, and W to embrace some of the Hausa states. In the 14th century the Bulala occupied Kanem, and the king fled in 1380 to Kagha W of Lake Chad, transferring the center of the kingdom to Bornu, where it stayed thereafter. King Idris Alowa (1571-1603) obtained firearms from the Turks of Tunisia. With them he conquered the Asben Tuareg of Air, the Hausa state of Kano, and in the S the Musgu, Kotoko, Margi, Mandara, and Ngizim. In the 17th century Bagirmi also became tributary to Bornu. The Fulani began to infiltrate Bornu in the latter part of the 18th century, and Bagirmi conquered part of Kanem. In 1809 the Fulani from Nigeria attempted to conquer Bornu, but were defeated. In 1814 the capital was transferred to Kuka. Bornu was defeated by Wadai in 1846, bringing the Sef dynasty to a close. After a disturbed period the country was conquered by Rabeh, a Negro adventurer from Sennar in the Fung country, who had been lieutenant to a famous Arab slave raider, Zubeir. Rather than submit to the British leader, Gordon, he took a few followers and marched west. He subjugated Dar Banda, then Dar Runga, then Dar Kuti, and then Bagirmi. He defeated Wadai in battle but was unable to hold this country. In

1894 he captured Kuka, the capital of Bornu, and destroyed it. He established his capital at Diboa, from which he ruled an empire extended from Darfur to W of Lake Chad. His policy was one of complete depredation. He was finally defeated and killed by the French in 1898. The British arrived in 1902, and divided Bornu with the Germans, the latter taking the Chad section.

Basic Economy

Primarily agricultural, with hoe (not plow) cultivation, some irrigation (especially of gardens and wheat), and a very little use of animal manure. The staple crops are millet (Pennisetum typhoideum) and sorghum (Sorghum vulgare), but maize (Zea mays), peanuts (Arachis hypogaea), earth peas (Voandzeia subterranea), cow peas (Vigna sinensis), sesame, hyacinth beans (Dolichos lubia and D. lablab), cotton, and tobacco. Of lesser importance are mungo beans (Phaseolus mungo), pumpkins, cucumbers, gourds, melons, manioc, wheat (introduced in 18th century), barley (recent), peppers, okra, onions, tomatoes, cress (Lepidium sativum), papayas, indigo, and henna. Very small amounts of rice, date palms (do not bear), limes (introduced by the Arabs), taro, yams, and sweet potatoes (the last three fairly recent importations from the south) are also grown. The most important domestic animals are cattle of a humped breed (said to be of Egyptian rather than Indian origin); they are used for meat, milk and butter, riding and burden. Also kept are a fair number of sheep and goats, horses (said to have been introduced 800 years ago), donkeys (but no mules), camels (owned by chiefs and caravan merchants only), chickens, dogs, and some pigeons and Muscovy ducks. Bees are not kept. There is little hunting, but fishing is important on the rivers, and there is much gathering of wild rice (Oryza punctata), honey, grasshoppers (relished as food), and (especially in famine times) the seeds of various wild grasses. There are numerous markets--small daily ones and large weekly ones. Caravans ply to and from Lake Chad and the Niger country, carrying natron from the NE; cotton fabrics, leather goods, and kola nuts from the Niger country, and also salt, tobacco, European articles, dried fish, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves.

Sex Division of Labor

Both sexes engage in agricultural work. Women milk cows, make butter, and trade in the markets. Domestic animals are tended mainly by male slaves.

Property

Cowrie shells, Maria Theresa dollars, and strips of cotton cloth (c. 3 inches wide and a yard or more in length) formerly served as currency. Individuals hold heritable usufruct rights in land.

Land rights are patrilineally inherited--by sons.

Social Stratification

There is marked social differentiation into royalty, nobility, wealthy people, ordinary freemen, and slaves (including "halbfreie"). There are varied craftsmen.

Marriage

Virginity is demanded and tested. Marriage entails a bride-price in money, made in three payments: (1) on asking for a girl's hand, (2) an intermediate one of twice as much, and (3) a final payment on the wedding day, amounting to the price of a slave. The amount is substantially reduced for a marriage with a first cousin. Occasionally a man gives a daughter, without a bride-price, to a pious man, paying all the wedding costs himself. Marriage customs identical with Kanembu.

Polygyny is permitted and common. On taking a second wife, the husband gives his first wife a payment equal to that of the initial installment of the bride-price.

Family

The residential group is inferentially a polygynous family.

Residence

The patrilocal rule prevails.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Marriages with a first cousin are common, since the bride-price is reduced.

The old "clan system" (presumably patrilineal) disintegrated in the late 19th century under the disturbed conditions of Rabeh's reign.

Kinship Terminology (from Barth; B from Burckhardt; L from Lukas)

Fa--aba, avá (L), abak (B). Mo--ya, yâ (L), yany (B). So, SpSo--tata, tátà (L), tata (B). Da--fero, féró (L), pyro (B). ElBr, ElSi--yaya, yǎa (L). YoBr, YoSi-- kerami, kerāmy (B), kəráami (L). Br, Si--yâgàna

(L). Hu--koawa, kwâ (L). Wi--kamo. Co-wife--cémi (L). Step-mother--andi (L), yâ cíntà (L). Stepfather-- avá cíntà.

FaElBr--aba kura, avákura (L), babany (B). FaYoBr--aba gana, avaganá (L), babany (B). MoBr--raba, rávà (L), rabbany (B). FaSi--baba, bávà (L). MoElSi--yakùra (L). MoYoSi--yena (aunt), yigɔ́na (L). GrFa, GrMo--kaga, kagá (L). GrMo--mako. GrFa--kagany (B). GrCh--digo. Niece--fero aba gana. Father-in-law, son-in-law--kisai koa, kɔ́sainyi kwayɔ́ga (L). Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law--kisai kamo, kɔ́sainyi kámin. Brother-in-law, sister-in-law--tígù (L).

Cousin--tata aba gana, gagansytilo (B).

Settlement Pattern

There are walled towns, of which the largest, Kuka the capital had an estimated 50, 000 to 60, 000 inhabitants in 1879. Urban dwellings are commonly rectangular with thick walls of sun-dried brick or mud (sometimes surmounted by turrets) and flat roofs of earth mixed with dung; they are sometimes two stories in height. The prevailing house type, however, is a round hut with walls of mud or of wooden posts covered with matting and with conical roofs thatched with straw; they are usually grouped in compounds surrounded by mud walls.

Local Government

There are local headmen.

State

Bornu was formerly a feudal state with an absolute monarch ruling through hereditary provincial governors. The king maintained an elaborate court at the capital town of Kuka. Nachtigal denies the institutions of queen-mother and queen-sister, but Westermann specifies a Magira or Queen-Mother (not necessarily the actual mother of the king), the Magaram or Queen-Sister (the eldest sister of the ruler and the second ranking woman of the land), and the Gumsa or ranking Queen. Eunuchs, in charge of the king's wives and of royal princes and princesses, exerted great influence. The king was assisted by an advisory council which met daily. It consisted of titled officials, often slaves, of whom the great council consisted of the first eight of the 22 listed below:

1. The Kaigama or military commander-in-chief, of slave origin;
2. The Yerima or heir-apparent, a son or brother of the ruler;

3. The Chiroma, freeborn representative of the Kanuri tribe and a provincial governor;
4. The Jerma, the ruler's personal bodyguard, a slave;
5. The Galadima, the prime minister and a provincial governor;
6. The Chitima Beluma, the collector of taxes, a freeman;
7. The Hirima, governor of the Magumi;
8. The Turuma, governor of the Koyam;
9. The Digma, the royal scribe, a slave;
10. The Zigibada, the king's messenger, a slave;
11. The Ardshinoma, the assistant commander-in-chief, a slave;
12. The Fugoma, the governor of the capital city, a slave;
13. The Zentaina, the third-ranking war leader, the ElSo of king's ElSi;
14. The Kazelma, the commander of the Tuareg outposts;
15. The Kagustema, a district chief;
16. The Bagarima, a district chief;
17. The Medela, the royal inspector-general, a freeman who traveled through the country reporting annually to the ruler on the state of agriculture, industry, and government;
18. The Mainta, the commissary in charge of the royal grain, a slave;
19. The Makinta, the commissary in charge of the king's fuel, fish, and vegetables;
20. The Sintelma, the commissary in charge of the king's butter, honey, and meat; the last three were slaves;
21. The Fergima, a district chief;
22. The Mulima, the groom in charge of the ruler's horses, a slave.

Warfare

The state of Bornu was constantly involved in foreign wars. In Nachtigal's time it maintained a standing army of about 7, 000.

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